175 669 563 798 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, outbreaks of tribal warfare with the Chinese central government occurred further to the south and west. Beginning in 1855, the Moslem population in the Ta-li district of Yunnan staged an uprising against their non-Moslem neighbors that led to almost twenty years of warfare marked by ruthless violence and slaughter on both sides. At least a million people lost their lives in the struggle, and one source estimates the population of the province was reduced from sixteen million to six million.[22]

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Coming of the West

• 177 From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Southwest China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon when had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[23]

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22. Cf. Eberhard, op. cit., p. 313; and H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910, 1918, Vol.II, pp. 288-89.

23. The course and effect of Imperial China's

[continued next page]

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624 The Southwest Region felt the impact of the West later and less profoundly than the regions of China bordering on the Pacicic Ocean. Western military might made an initial impress on the region but was not followed by the broad penetration of new material and ideological forces that changed so much of the environment and thinking in the maritime provinces. The bureaucracy of the Ch'ing Dynasty was succeeded by the warlords of [669] the Republican period. They maintained their power under the Nationalist Government and effectively blocked the wide dissemination of revolutionary doctrine in the Southwestern provinces, while playing along in the power struggle of the twentieth century revolutionary period. Only under the wartime needs and influence of the Nationalist Government in Chungking did the Southwest experience a growth of largely small-scale industrialization, the dissemination of new political and social ideas devoid of revolutionary content, and an advance in direct control by the central political authority.

[Footnote 23 continued]

interaction with the West are described from different points of view in H. B. Morse, op. cit.; and John K. Fairbank and Ssu-yü Teng, China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1954. Unless otherwise noted, the following pages are taken from these sources.

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000 new regime in Southwest China.[34]

D. New Influences in the War of Resistance against Japan

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177 With the removal of the Chinese national capital to Chungking in 1938, the heyday of central government authority in the Southwest Region was reached. The Kuomintang and its government officials were concentrated in the wartime capital and exerted lesser control in scattered areas throughout the Southwest. Through these party and government officials, such mass organizations as the San-min Chu-i Youth Corps, and a secret police network, the Nationalist Government came closer to ruling the region than had any previous central political authority.

Accompanying the new political influence were the novel effects of the influx of professional and academic people, students, and business men from the more modern cities of the maritime provinces. Industrialization mushroomed, especially in Chungking; and that city with Chengtu and Kunming became the temporary home of displaced universities. Rural co-operative and education movements in scattered areas of the Southwest acquainted thousands of peasants for the first time with some of the new social, economic, and political ideas that had been current in the coastal cities

34. On Lung Yan, see Paul M.A.Linebarger, The China of Chiang Kai-shek, Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941,p. 101;Herbert Freyne, Free China's New Deal, N.Y., Macmillan Co., 1945, p.169; and T. H. White, Annalee Jacoby, Thunder out of China, N.Y., William Sloane Associates,Inc.,1946.

175 of China for about a quarter of a century.
179 The habits, dress, and ideas of American military and civilian personnel and of the Chinese refugees from industrialized centers constituted another novel experienced for the long-isolated people of the Southwest Region.[35] On the other hand, anthropological studies of ethnic minorities and geological explorations sponsored by the government gave the professionals involved and the government better knowledge of some of the region's hitherto unknown human and natural resources.

The depth of penetration and long-range effect of these new influences is difficult to determine. Had they occurred when the government was not primarily occupied with fighting a war for survival or under a more disciplined or more revolutionary-minded regime, the intensity and lasting quality of the new forces would undoubtedly have been strengthened tremendously. As it was, however, their power was diluted by Kuomintang censorship and control in areas where the new influences were at work, the continued existence of petty warlord rule in other areas, the skyrocketing inflation and heavy taxation incident to the war, and the growth of profiteering, corruption, and demoralization within the ranks of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government during the last few years of World War II.

175 182 563 From the beginning of the exodus to Chungking, the old inhabitants and the new arrivals from the eastern cities looked on each other with

35. On wartime Southwest China cf. White and Jacoby, op. cit., passim; Linebarger, op.cit., pp. 214-34.

175 mutual suspicion and disdain. When many of the
186 new factories and the modern, urbanized immi-
563 grants who largely ran them moved back to the more convenient locations and amenities of the eastern industrial centers after the war, their departure was mourned by few of the older popu-
178 lation of Chungking. Some of the factories remained in operation, however, and the wartime exploration of the mineral resources of the Southwestern provinces contributed not only new knowledge of the potential economic value of the Southwest but also impelling reasons for its further development and for tying it closer to the rest of China by improved communications.

177 The intellectual impact may have made a deeper, longer lasting impression on the people of the Southwest, simply because many of the students and older intellectuals were intensely desirous in their patriotic and socially idealistic zeal of establishing closer contacts with the masses of the people and contributing to their improved welfare and national consciousness. Likewise, most of the intellectuals in the rural education movement were devoted to improving the livelihood and educational level of the peasants. These rural teachers were fully conscious that if they attained their objective it would engender popular demands on the government for improved social conditions and more democratic, responsible political organization.

668 Both the organized rural education movement and the sporadic efforts of inspired students and professional people were handicapped by

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II. THE HAN CHINESE IN THE SOUTHWEST

In the Southwest the Han Chinese appear to greatly outnumber the non-Han Chinese. This is because the Han Chinese are mostly settled in cities, towns, and more accessible areas. Moreover, many tribesmen who dress like Han Chinese peasants may be mistaken for Han Chinese. The Han Chinese in this region are generally divided into (a) the native Han Chinese (Lao-han-jen or old Chinese), who have been there for at least 200 years and have intermarried with the aborigines, and (b) the immigrant Han Chinese (sometimes called K'echia) who came later.

A. Szechwan

In this province, the native Han Chinese have spread in the south and west. The more recently arrived Han Chinese of Hunan and Hupeh origin are to be found in the western, eastern, and southern parts of the province; those of Honan, Anhwei, and Kiangsi origin, in the southern part of the province; and those of Shensi and Kansu origin, in the western and northern parts of the province. Cities like Chengtu and Chungking have other Han Chinese from Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu.[3] The Manchu government in the mid-seventeenth century encouraged immigration into Szechwan with the promise of land,[4] and more than 1,700,000 Han Chinese migrated.[4] Many others who settled in Szechwan had been traders or government officials.

B. Sikang

The migration of Han Chinese into this province started in the T'ang (618-907 A.D.) and Sung (960-

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Annex "A," Aubparagraph 1h,
Sociological Background

SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTIC WAYS OF LIFE

177 The Chinese imperial system was strikingly successful in fostering common basic attitudes among the peoples which it absorbed within its ever-widening sphere, but local and regional sub-cultures, brought into the imperial order at different times throughout more than two millenia, did not lose all of their characteristic traits. In Southwest 101 China, the Red basin is the oldest center of "Chinese" civilization. Yunnan and Kweichow remained in the status of colonies for many centuries after Chinese culture had taken root in Szechwan. Thus one might say that there are in the Southwest two distinctive types of sub-cultures: one is the older culture of the area surrounding Chengtu, and the other encompasses the remainder of Szechwan, Yunnan, and Kweichow and has been forged out of the interactions -- over the last few centuries -- between indigenous cultures and the culture of the invading Chinese. There is then as high a cultural diversity in this region as in any other major region of China.

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563 There are other factors which give to much of the area we are now considering important uniformities in culture. The expansion of "Chinese culture" from Honan and Shantung into the whole of south and southwest China was essentially the steady outward push of an efficient agricultural technique which displaced the more primitive aboriginal food-gatherers and primitive slash-burn agriculturists, absorbed most of these people into its operation, and drove the remnants higher and higher into the hills. This process is still going on in upland areas of the South-
24 west. The characteristically Chinese agri-
62 culture is intensive, that is, it uses large quantities of human labor in irrigating, fertilizing, and cultivating land for maximum yields. Its unit of socio-economic organization is the village, composed of those families which cultivate the surrounding fields within
62 easy walking distance. It was in the villages of rural China, spread over a vast area to exploit the land through a common technology, that the characteristic way of life developed. It is his family's village which is "home" to any Chinese, no matter what his class, how far he may wander, or how Westernized his life may have become. There are perpetuated the ties with his own family's past, symbolized by the ancestral temple and the family or clan burial ground. There are the other families

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China AF16

779 Southwest today. But some trends should be
563 noted. The education of Islamic youth, although special Moslem schools have been set up by the government, will be in the pattern ordained by the goverment, and the youth will tend in time to become more Communist than Moslem.[55] Secondly, the break-up of the closely knit communities in the Southwest will probably
779 proceed apace. The Communist government
563 boasts of the increasing number of Moslem youth
177 now classified as "workers";[56] this means integration of the youth into new state-ordained patterns of activity in factories and workers organizations; it means that they will slowly be alienated from their parents' values as well as from their parents' occupational roles. Thirdly, as Moslems increasingly share in government and social activities, there will be less inclination on their part towards a defensive separatism; it is claimed, for example that 72 Moslems have been deputies to Shanghai municipal and chü congresses, and token participation tends to bring them into new orbits of activity.[57] Among the 29,000

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55. A NCNA dispatch of June 9, 1955 states that there are five primary and one middle school for Moslems in Shanghai and that 90 per cent of the students have received free or reduced tuition.

56. NCNA, Peking, June 10, 1955; SCMP, 1067, p. 23.

57. Ibid.

779 Moslems in Shanghai, measures have allegedly
563 been taken to provide for their special
177 religious dietary needs,[58] and there are references to special food shipments for Ramadan. Such measures would tend to reduce initial suspicion and resistance among the Moslems and, in the long run, to make integration easier. The processes of Communization, secularization, and integration will probably advance less rapidly in a strongly Moslem province such as Yunnan than in the provinces of North China and the Yangtze valley. The measures we have noted plus the activity of the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of Communist government, will ultimately do more to reduce the age-old separatism and resistance of Islam than the measures of earlier Chinese governments.

V. CATHOLICISM

779 The older of the two Christian faiths in
797 China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack

58. Ibid.

798 nor death. I saw shy youths changed
797 into courageous apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youth break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[77]

The basic question is whether the harrassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

• 177 In many respects the Protestant
779 missionaries and their converts set the
797 pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers

77. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

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in medical education, in many fields of technical education, in women's education, and in many other spheres, the Protestants made striking contributions to the dissolution of the traditional order in China. But it was beyond their powers to replace that order with a Christian democratic society. And they failed also to forge an effective instrument to work for that end: a disciplined, independent, vigorous body of Chinese Protestants.

Protestant missions began in the ports of the China coast that were gradually opened up after China's successive defeats by the Western powers. The rights of residence, travel, and property ownership for both Catholic and Protestant churches were exacted in the successive treaties which China was forced to sign. This background of, as it were, forced entry into China has handicapped Christianity in China in two important respects: as the tide of nationalistic sentiment rose, anti-Christian movements invariably accompanied anti-foreign and nationalistic manifestations. Secondly, the decades of foreign protection and foreign support prevented the Christian churches -- the Protestant perhaps more than the Catholic -- from developing their own means of self-support and their own mechanisms of survival in times of political upheaval.

565 many farmers realize that the Yangtze River
722 gorges were not a dependable natural defense,
184 and that they could no longer live in an "isolated utopia" in West China, as Szechwan Province had been traditionally regarded.

The Communists have been making intensive efforts to "educate" the farmers. Although the learning of a few political terms is not enough to make the farmer nationalistic, at least he knows more about China as a nation than he ever did in the past.

423 The idea that he is to be given land of his own
565 (and concomitant responsibility) probably has
184 generated apprehension even in the poorest peasant who always believed he wanted to own land. To be sure, his gain through the process of land reform must have given the peasant some satisfaction, but subsequent grain taxes remain heavy and Communist efforts to collectivize the production and marketing of farm produce impose restrictions on the farmer. Compared with Central-South China, land reform and the establishment of cooperatives were carried out rapidly and with less resistance in this region. The fact that all farmers have been permitted to retain title to their land has led the peasantry to give support to the regime. Good crops, which have made this a grain-surplus region since 1953, helped to maintain the illusion of a prospering society.

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●177 The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign
565 culture was originally derived from contact with

179 565 184 foreign missionaries. In Southwest China, foreign churches were seen only in a few larger cities. The presence of American troops in Kunming, Chengtu, and a few other cities where military installations were located during the war against Japan made possible a different view of the foreigner. The farmer's reaction to the sight of a swashbuckling American soldier was generally puzzlement, envy, and a measure of disapproval. But on the whole, very few farmers in this region have had much experience with foreigners, nor did anti-foreign uprisings in the past directly involve the Southwestern farmer. The frightening image of "Western imperialism" created by Communist propaganda organs, therefore, is likely to pose no meaningful threat to these long-isolated people. The majority of the farmers in this region are not concerned with the fate of foreign missionaries in Communist China.

565 184 The Chinese farmer has always hoped to safeguard his family by acquiring more land to provide a better education for his children and to maintain the respect of fellow villagers. Now that the farmer's hopes for obtaining land are strictly limited, his interest turns to finding ways in which his children, through education, can advance on the socio-economic ladder. The fact that many young people from peasant families have been absorbed into the government "cadre" system may induce the Chinese farmer to look more kindly upon the present regime. Of course, there are exceptions among the farming population. Farmers active in secret societies, which

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S 114 484 ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S 131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

S ST [184] 771 The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

S ST [764] [755] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

S ST ● 177 [579] Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

S 631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

177●

Even before the beginning of the present war, West Town had always had its share of outside influence through sons of the local families who went away to study in Peiping, Shanghai, Hongkong, Indo-China and even Japan and the United States. But in the hands of the locals these returned young persons were helpless in innovation. The tale is still vivid of a young returner from Hongkong having had a bucket of human stools poured over his head and that of his newly-wed while walking on the street hand in hand. In the custom of the locality such liberty was not allowed and the young couple had no redress of the rough treatment. Four years of war have made West Town somewhat different in appearance. There is a missionary college from Central China, which has taken refuge in a Confucian Temple and a Buddhist Temple just outside the center of the town. The students are mainly from provinces other than Yunnan, and the faculty and staff members consist of English and American missionaries besides Chinese. With these outsiders come freer relations between the sexes, preachings of their church, their wireless news, their medical care, their manner of dress, etc. Besides the church in this missionary college there are two other churches. One of the latter is supported by the American Episcopal Mission and the other by the theological seminary which is a guest institution to the college. A third group of people who call themselves "The Little Flock" also has considerable activity. This group sends out preachers to fraternize with the local people. [626] 797 177

The Normal Habits of the People

The Yearly Cycle of Observances and Festivals - Spirits and gods are the main source of protection from any trouble for practically all of the people. Therefore, the yearly cycle of life is largely a yearly cycle, according to the lunnar calendar, of offerings to the spirits of gods. The following table shows the major ritual observances during the year: 796 527

Lunar Month	Date	Name of the Occasion
1st	1st	Spring Festival. Incense burned and food offered to the Gods of Wealth and the Goddess of Kuan Yin
"	9th	Birthday of Yu Huang
"	15th	" " T'ien Kuan
2nd	3rd	" " Wen Ch'ang
"	8th	Ritual parade of Buddha through the town
"	15th	Birthday of Lao Chun
"	19th	" " Kuan Yin
3rd	3rd	" " Hsuan Ti
"	Ch'ing Ming	Visiting ancestral graveyards
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Wealth
"	16th	" " " " " Mountains
"	20th	" " Goddess of Niang Niang
"	28th	" " Gung Yuoh
4th	8th	" " Tai Tzo
"	15th	" " God of Fire
"	20th	" " Yuan Shih
5th	5th	Tuan Wu Festival
6th	6th	Birthday of the Southern Dipper (Nan Tou)
"	24th	" " Military Sages
7th	7th	" " K'uei Hsing
"	14th	Ancestor Worship
"	15th	Birthday of the God of Earth

[p. 5]

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All these[1] show that real knowledge is intertwined with false assumptions: but since all these doings are traditionally handed down, the two are not exactly and always distinguishable in the minds of the local folk at all. They show that, should we unconditionally agree with Prof. Malinowski that magic fills the gaps of science, our position will be quite untenable. The distinction between magic and science is a post-industrial product and is not present, the author believes, in most rustic cultures. In a rustic culture, assumptions based upon real knowledge are traditionally defined and built up no less than are assumptions of a magical nature. Both are habitual ways of conduct. In this manner magic, far from necessarily occurring at places where real knowledge is lacking, may indeed exist, flourish and operate side by side with sound scientific knowledge, for attaining the same general aims. This conclusion is made especially obvious when the culture is subjected to external pressure - as in West Town. Here we have a situation in which one line of action is traditionally defined and a mixture of magic and real knowledge, while another line of action is clearly based upon modern science and, as far as the moderns can see, contains no significant false assumptions. Can the new knowledge based upon scientific experiments replace the traditional mixture? The answer has already been given in the facts presented in the foregoing pages: It cannot. First, as we have seen, the use of either magic or real knowledge in the community comes from the same attitude of mind. Second, the traditional attitude which gives sanction to the local practices inevitably requires that when new practices present themselves they be added to the total list if they are not too strange and rejected. The addition is not to replace the old ones but to operate side by side with the others. The attitude behind practices based upon theories of modern medicine, on the other hand, is characterized by a vehement desire to replace the old practices completely. This attitude of mind is incomprehensible to the rustic mind.

Third, the native measures are largely of a communal nature. An examination of the diagram just given will show that the prayer meetings are the center and most other measures taken (such as the taboos on dirt, food, insistence on morals, drinking of "fairy water", etc.) are supplementary to them and form with them a whole conceptual and working system. These communal doings are part of the social organization. They reveal the position of the individual in the community. They bind individuals of the community to one another. They are as important as other communal doings, either religious ones (such as shown in the annual cycle of religious occasions and many others) or social ones (such as the suppression of breach of customs, especially in the sexual domain). That the most literary man of the district (Mr. Chao) had to participate in more than one prayer meeting and yet failed to defend his position when asked by the outsider, that the two carpenters who made the most out of the epidemic had to subscribe very generously to the cause of the prayer meetings, and that the wealthiest family of the locality which had given shape to the modernized hospital and schools should also lend large financial support to these prayer meetings, are all indications of the true weight of the rustic practices. The last case is especially interesting. The family's support of two widely divergent types of institutions at the same time shows that both efforts do not involve a question of principles (whether magic or science) but are means by the traditional pattern to achieve the same social end, namely prestige in the community. That is why, although West Town has been subjected to so much influence from outside, as we have seen in Chapter II of this paper, still the traditional practices remain as firmly entrenched in the minds of the populace as ever.

1 [measures taken against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

The anti-choleric injection and other modern measures of sanitation, on the other hand, are without such root in the community. They have to come in by way of individual adjustments and not by way of communal transformation. It is this fact, the author thinks, which is responsible for the phenomenon that more children than adults have taken the injection. It is this fact also which is responsible for the circumstance that the older people are in directing positions in the prayer meetings. This fact also indicates that the modern injection will have to become another accepted way of doing things (whether it be magic or science as the outside observer conceives of it) in order to come into the community at all. For although individual adjustments may be comparatively easier to effect than a communal transformation, as long as the individual has to live and be a respectable member in the community he or she cannot afford to be indifferent or antagonistic towards the life, work and public affairs of the community. In such a case, individual refusal to participate in the communal undertakings means much more than an individual affair. The individual refuses to participate at the risk of being ostracized for by doing so he is thought to be endangering the entire community.

We have thus in a way reversed Professor Malinowski's position on the relation between magic and science. He took science for granted and conceived of magic as something secondary, to take up the places where science has failed. Professor Malinowski has lived and thought in the scientific era of European civilization, where magic in many spheres of life, such as technology and hygiene, is clearly distinguishable from the main body of knowledge based upon modern science. When we look at the matter from the point of view of the rustic culture the picture is entirely changed. For then science is no longer the general background; the background, usually a mixture of sound knowledge and magic, is cloaked under the local traditions and habits, while the clearly defined scientific ideas and usages from outside will have to struggle for a foothold, taking up the places where the traditional mixture of real knowledge and magic has failed and being woven into this mixture.

There is a further question to be answered. Can we say that, following Malinowski, if some of the practices (such as the prayer meetings) do not seem to have any obvious physical bearing on the epidemic, they nevertheless provide the individual and the community with a means to psychological stability to tide over the crisis? The answer, as the author sees it, is neither in the positive nor in the negative because, after the foregoing analysis, the question does not in fact exist at all. All the practices so far analyzed are traditional ways of meeting life's problems and situations and therefore undifferentiated as regards science or magic. The prayer meetings are as important as the taboos on food. The latter again are as important as one or other of the many medicinal prescriptions or the emphasis on "morals". Very often, to many individuals, all of these are again as important as the drinking of the "fairy water". That this is the characteristic mental attitude may be confirmed without difficulty in other walks of life. At a wedding, for example, the practices which we as investigators brand as magic (such as the custom that the bridegroom must face a certain direction when the bride's sedan chair comes in) exist side by side with others which we as investigators brand as real knowledge (such as the use of a sedan chair to carry the bride, or a particular way of displaying the dowry through the streets). On the Fifth of the Fifth Moon, a festival, each child or adult has some orpiment (As_2S_3) (mixed in water) smeared in earholes, nostrils and other vital parts of the body. This is to ensure that no worms or anything else should penetrate into the body through those openings. At the same time small brushes or rope made of

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

of their deliberations had been that the *ch'ai* was to go to Mêng-hua and report there that I had arrived in that district. So he accordingly went his way on to the town after a last ineffectual attempt to persuade me to go there too.

One of the village police from Hsün-chien came with us as far as Tien-chung-kai, where our route left the main road, and from there we had no difficulty in getting a man, also a village policeman, to show us the way across the hills.

The road led up to the top of the range at a low gap (7,500 feet), from here down a narrow valley with steep and in some places wooded hills on either side, and finally up half a mile of stiff ascent to the village of Wu-li-hei. I put up in a very comfortable house owned by one of the principal men of the village, who lets travellers sleep there for a consideration.

The inhabitants of the place are a tribe of Lo-los called by the Chinese Mêng-hua Lo-lo or simply Mêng-hua Jên (i.e. Mêng-hua men). Their houses are built of mud and stone, all packed very closely together, and there is nothing in the appearance of the place to distinguish it from a Chinese village. They have in fact taken very much to Chinese customs and the men dress exactly like Chinamen; they can all speak Chinese, and some of them can also read and write it. The women have retained their tribal costume. Their dress consists of a sleeveless blue coat, and a blue skirt with trousers underneath it, the skirt and trousers reaching only down to the knee. The Mêng-hua Jên still use their own language among themselves, and a vocabulary that I took down in this village will be found in the pocket of the cover. They seem very well off; their houses are large, and they own considerable numbers of mules, ponies, cattle, buffaloes, and goats. This particular branch of the Lo-lo family occupy the greater part of the hills of the Mêng-hua district.

For the next two days our road led us through a mountainous country, the hill-sides sometimes bare and sometimes covered with pine forests, the inhabitants principally Lo-los. At the little village of Lu-chu-t'ang we joined into the main road from Mêng-hua, and early on the 10th we reached Sha-sung-shao, the first village in the Shun-ning district. From here there is a long bit of

Ta-li Fu to Yün-nan Fu

000 to ung-pei T'ing, crossing the Yangtze by an iron chain bridge, thence turning south had recrossed that river by a ferry just above the mouth of the Ya-lung River and had come on through Ta-yao Hsien and Yao Chou.

361 Chên-nan Chou is considered one of the poorest towns in Yün-nan. It contains perhaps 500 houses, all very small. There is scarcely any trade in the place, and a great many Chên-nan men are obliged to hire themselves out as mule drivers in other places to get a livelihood.

Two easy days of level marching brought us to Ch'u-hsiung Fu, or Ts'u-hsiung Fu as it is invariably called in Yün-nan. The people of this town are peculiarly conservative and exclusive. They have such an objection to strangers that no inn is allowed within the city walls, and no one from any other town is allowed to establish a shop. When the telegraph line was first taken through here, there was much commotion, and so determined was the opposition of the townspeople to this new-fangled means of communication that the telegraph office had to be put inside the Colonel's yamen, the only place where it would be safe from destruction.

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One might expect such a conservative place to be very anti-foreign. But such is not the case. We found the people civil and friendly, and the missionaries who visit the place occasionally get on well with them, though they had so far failed to establish a permanent mission station here.

000 We put up at an excellent inn in the suburbs, with a very large upper-storey room, which was just what we wanted, as we had much work to do in putting our maps together, while our evenings were fully occupied in getting the longitude from Bhamo by telegraph. We were not the only Europeans in Ch'u-hsiung at the time, for we found two members of the China Inland Mission, Mr Nicholls and Mr Saunders, on a temporary visit here. On the day after our arrival we had quite a dinner-party to celebrate the meeting of six Englishmen in the middle of Yün-nan.

We halted four or five days at Ch'u-hsiung and rearranged our plans. Watts-Jones started again on the 15th March to continue the survey for the line on to Yün-nan Fu. Ker, accompanied by Ram Sabad, one of

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

000 The next day we crossed the Shweli-Salween watershed at 8,700 feet. The range is not so high here as it becomes north of the T'êng-yüeh-Ta-li road, where its peaks rise to 12,000 feet or more.

Sleeping at Pai-ta, which stands on a sort of little terrace in the hillside overlooking the Salween, we descended the next morning by an exceedingly steep path to what is often known as the P'an-chih-hua ferry. It should be more correctly called Chuan-shui, as the real P'an-chih-hua is a mile or two lower down and is now disused as a ferry.

The Salween here runs between hills which are not quite precipitous, but are so steep that one may say that the river banks are 3000 feet high. No goat track could possibly go straight up them. They are ascended by steep zigzag paths. The river is here at an elevation of 2,100 feet, and the highest peak on the range to the west of it, though only 6½ miles off in a straight line, is 10,100 feet. The ferry is not on any main road, so there was only one somewhat water-logged raft, and the crossing of 140 yards of deep swift-flowing water was a matter of time.

563 We slept at Ma-lu-t'ang, a village which with four •197 others in the neighbourhood is inhabited by Lo-los, who [304] still use their own language, but have in other respects adopted Chinese customs, even to the extent of their women [249] binding their feet. The few people who exist in this part of the Salween valley get a living principally by growing tobacco and opium.

On the 5th we reached the large village of Yao-kuan, where I had slept a night in the previous year on my way from Yung-ch'ang down to Kun-long. I found the inhabitants just as inquisitive and ill-mannered as they had 712 been on my former visit. In one of the little plains passed through on this march we found the ruins of a Mahommedan fort, built during the rebellion of 1854–1873. They say the rebels held out here for three or four years, and what remains of the fort is most solidly built of large blocks of stone.

000 Our next march was chiefly downhill, leading us into the valley of the Yung-ch'ang River, where it runs through the little plain which the Chinese call Wan-tien and the

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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000 On the 28th March we reached Chung-tien after a march of nearly 20 miles over grass plains and low spurs, the first bit of level going we had had since leaving the S Chien-ch'ang valley nearly a month before.

ST 302 191 The town contains some 300 houses, and we found a sort of inn to put up in, kept by a Chinaman whose Tibetan wife plaited her red hair in seven pigtails. The inhabitants of the town are most of them of mixed Chinese and Tibetan descent. They dress like Chinamen, but usually speak S Tibetan among themselves, though they can talk Chinese.

ST 631 622 Chung-tien, or Che-tang to give the place its correct Tibetan name, is a town of the *t'ing* class, and there is a Chinese official of that rank here. But he has no real authority. The rulers of the country are to be found in the S large monastery which is situated a little further along the ST plain on the road to A-tun-tzŭ. Here there are said to be [651] 3,300 lamas. The taxation of the laymen to support the ecclesiastics is very heavy, and many families are leaving the district.

Everyone in Chung-tien, including the Chinese *chih-t'ing* is completely under the thumb of the lamas. I tried to hire a mule or two to ease my animals, but found it impossible to do so. The mule owners were quite willing, but they said that on their return they would certainly be beaten by the lamas for venturing to assist a foreigner. The Chung-tien lamas seem to be a truculent lot. Their demeanour when I passed the monastery the next day was S certainly not friendly.

ST • 177 It is curious how little impression the civilisation and customs of the Chinese have produced on the Tibetans. Elsewhere, one of the principal characteristics of Chinese expansion is its power of absorbing other races. The greater part of the inhabitants of southern and western China are doubtless of aboriginal stock with a certain admixture of the real Chinese race. Yet the Chinaman of Yün-nan or Kuang-tung is thoroughly Chinese in his customs and ways of thought.

The process of absorption can still be seen actually going on in Yün-nan. I have found Lo-lo villages in all stages. It begins as a rule with the men learning to read Chinese, and adopting Chinese dress. Gradually they will

take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin.

The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in ufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there.

Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop.